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VOL. XVI No. 14.

BRIEF HITS

AT THE CURRENT FOLLIES AND FALLACIES OF CAPITALISM.

Gompers' Political Pledges—The Socialists and the Family Again—The Impudent "Lather"—"Neutrality's" Black Eye—The Czar and His Kinship to the American Capitalist Class—"Business Methods" on Exhibition—Cassatt's Naïveté—Who Incites "Anarchy and Socialism"—The Caisson Deaths—Other Items of Interest.

Gompers, pledging the A. F. of L. membership vote to a political party is a fit subject for a neat cartoon. We suggest a balloon-fish in the act of furnishing air to a man's lungs.

Another illustration of the pestiferous effect of Socialism upon the "integrity of the family" comes to light in the case of the rich Mrs. Annie D. Presbie of this city. Known to have a large amount of money about her, her own daughter, brought up in the tenets of capitalist morality, drugged and then robbed her.

Among the things that The People would like to know is the round amount of dollars paid by the capitalist, whose love letters were found on the murdered Mrs. Kinnan, to the police in order that they keep his name secret and do not divulge one more instance of the pestiferous effect of Socialism on the "sanctity of the family".

The "Lather", an organ of the Civic Federationised A. F. of L., has the impudence to say that the General Federation of Labor of France stands on the same principles as the A. F. of L. The General Federation of Labor of France would not wipe its feet upon an organization that holds that Capital and Labor are brothers.

"Neutrality" is getting a black-eye in Russia also, after getting two black-eyes in America in the person of the pure and simple political Socialist. In Russia the black-eye is administered to Trepoff, the Czar's military right-bower, who "preserved a benevolent neutrality" during the Jewish massacres.

The corroborated statements, concerning the blind "obedience to orders" by the troops which massacred Jews in Russia, will soon cause the turn of the "liberal" capitalists, who favor disarmament, to undergo a change everywhere. Everywhere these capitalists are quaking in their stolen boots. Everywhere will they now hug armaments to their heart.

"Devoted to the cause of promoting the education and moral elevation of the people," as the Czar's declaration runs, the Czar's Government is now discovered to have an extensive network of spies in this country. The spies do—what? Shadow the meetings of "bomb-manufacturing Anarchists"? No. The spies have headquarters in the centers of education—the libraries. There they spot everyone who reads books that tend to enlighten and broaden the horizon. Knowledge, information, culture—to the dynamite that Czarism fears. No less significant is the fact that our libraries have been willing to turn themselves into sentry boxes for the Rule of the Knout.

The Czar should feel that at least he stands in "good company". What if not a day passes without he and his entourage being found guilty of some new outrage? It is not differently with our American capitalists. Not a day passes but a new batch is caught red-handed. The greatest names, the most beautiful finds are smirched from head to foot;—and there are others.

What will the capitalist pundits do now, now that the Russian Socialists are demanding not merely "all the privileges that the American citizen already enjoys," but the full Socialist program? It used to be the string on which these pundits harped that Socialism was sensible in Europe, not so in America. Now that the language of the European proletariat, voiced by the Russian, begins to sound identically with the language of American Socialism—has European So-

cialism also become non-sensible? What say the pundits?

"Business methods" are on exhibition on the national stage of the House of Representatives. "Short weights"; "doctored cherries"; "pepper berries" made of tapioca; "Mocha coffee" manufactured in America; rotten eggs, preserved in boric acid, sold as "fresh laid"; "genuine olive oil" made of cotton seed; "pure honey" that never saw the side of a bee-hive and comes out of a glucose factory, with a dead bee put in to carry out the delusion; etc.; etc. And these are the methods that the "Law and Order" brigade of capitalists insists government should be run by—these are "business methods."

It should need no more than to watch one set of capitalists in Congress legislating so as to protect themselves against the other set, in order to come to the conclusion that capitalist law is gotten up on the rat-trap plan. What else, if not rats, must the capitalists be?

Senator Lodge is of the opinion that the beef barons and the Standard Oil Company are, by their lawlessness, the "inciter of Socialism and Anarchy". It needs no special straining of the eye to hear the beef barons and Standard Oil Company ask: "Why does he not mention the railroad kings, the mine dukes, the factory princes, the express marquises, the insurance barons, etc., etc.?"

Can the answer be that all these other establishments have a garrison in the Senator's pockets? Parish the thought! The bosom friend of Roosevelt can not be an "inciter of Socialism and Anarchy", although the Yale College Professor said Roosevelt was a man of a lawless mind.

It all, and every time, comes out of the hide of the working class. The packers having lost \$20,000,000 in trade, they have laid off 60 per cent. of their employees. The loss of \$20,000,000 to the packers does not mean the loss of a single meal to them. In only means some fewer debauches. The loss of their jobs by the 60 per cent. of men laid off means starvation. Whatever is gained in purer food will have been paid for by the health, if not lives, of the laid off forces.

Cassatt, the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad which has been caught cheating, declares: "The Company's affairs are honestly conducted"—but he suddenly holds in. In his mind's eye he sees his stock holders rising alarmed for their dividends at such a declaration. In his mind's eye he sees these stock-holders wondering how the dividends can keep up the usual pace if "the Company's affairs are honestly conducted". In his mind's ear he hears the dull thud of dumped stock at the fear of decreasing dividends. He holds in, accordingly, and then proceeds—"in the interest of the share-holders". The stock or share-holders relax into patriotic and pietistic repose. Honestly conducted IN THE INTEREST OF THE SHARE HOLDERS—that's all right. Everybody understands that.

The "compressed" air in the caissons is causing the death of scores of workingmen. These lives could be saved if the hospitals were equipped with apparatus for "recompressed" treatment. Not a hospital in the city has the necessary tanks for the treatment. Why should they have any? Are workingmen notorious adulterers who "swap squaws"? Are they railroad directors who grow rich by the violation of law and the ruin of shippers? Are they cheats who can foul meat? Are they perfurers who make false returns to the Government? Are they depredators of the property of widows and orphans? In short, are they capitalists, entitled to all the appliances and means to boot, to cure them? Of course not! Hence, what society-subversive notion is the notion that the hospitals should be equipped with "recompressed" tanks?

A Hearst man, addressing a "Municipal Ownership Club" in the cause of good government, said: "Mr. Hearst was elected last fall, and the failure of the officials to give him a fair count proved how helpless we lovers of good government are until proper laws are drawn and in force."

Pat, resting after the strain at the straps of his new boots, observed: "Faith, and I'll never be able to get on them boots till I've worn 'em a toime geigie; and that the political party should

The following is a statement of the reasons put forth by the S. P. Socialists of Cincinnati, members of the I. W. W., for withdrawing from the Socialist Party:

In view of the persistent and malicious attack upon the advocates of Industrial Unionism, based upon the class struggle, and the campaign of misrepresentation and personal abuse carried on by those who oppose our views, both here and elsewhere, we think it necessary to issue a plain statement of our views and position, in order that those who wish to view this question fairly will be enabled to come to a clear understanding of the principles involved, in spite of the prejudice our opponents are trying to create in the minds of the rank and file.

In striking contrast to many of our opponents we absolutely refuse to discuss personalities in this statement. We do not believe they have any bearing on the question; nor do we believe there is any person or organization in the United States whose actions, ideas, or position are of sufficient importance to warrant our compromising a single particle of the principles we hold. When men run out of legitimate argument they resort to personalities in order to bolster up a position that cannot be sustained by reason.

Now to business—^The point of difference between ^Two nations is that of the relation between the industrial and political wings of the labor movement.

We believe that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class must be based on industrially organized unions standing squarely upon the class struggle; and that the political party should

and must be the expression of its demands on the political field; both working harmoniously for the overthrow of capitalism.

One of the standard tenets of the Socialist is "that political parties are the POLITICAL EXPRESSION of economic class interests." We say, and have said for years, that the capitalist class, through their control of the sources of wealth production, control the political. If, then, the source of the capitalist political control is in the economic field, we must make our fight on the real battle ground, cease neglecting the source of all power; and stop fighting for the shadow alone. In fighting the political battle only, we are simply fighting effects and ignoring causes. You know the Socialist boast, "We deal with causes." Now, deal with them like men.

Nor does this interfere with our political activity in any way. We have been, and shall continue to be, active in the political movement, because we realize its tremendous value as a weapon in the struggle.

Having agreed as to the natural relation of the industrial and political, we have the question as to the best form of organization on the economic field to give the working class its true expression, combining the greatest measure of power and unity of action, and best fitted to increase its solidarity and class consciousness.

We state emphatically that the industrial form of organization meets all these requirements; that the craft form does not meet a single one of them; and has absolutely no claim upon the support of the worker fighting for the emancipation of his class.

The craft form of organization, by

CLASS LAW SELF-EXHIBITED.

It is only lack of space that stays us from publishing in parallel columns the articles that the New York "Evening Post" recently had upon Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

"It is wrong to cloth the report of Neill and Reynolds with the sanctity of infallibility"—was not the accusation of the self-confessed criminal, Orchard, held up as infallible? Why, if the opinions of a malodorous Pinkertonian like McParland and of a self-confessed murderer, like Orchard, must be believed and may not be disbelieved except by the "lovers of disorder", why should not the conclusions of Dr. Neill and of Reynolds, neither of whom is a criminal, confessed or otherwise, and both of whom are men in good social standing—why should their word have less weight than that of an Orchard or a McParland?

"A government official is just as subject to mistake or prejudice as any other man"—why should this fact be so carefully kept in mind, when the packers are concerned, and roughly ridden over, when workingmen like Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are the subjects of accusation?

The answer is obvious. The "Evening Post" is the free trade paper that has prescribed the "rille diet" for the workingmen. The "Evening Post" is the property of capitalists and is run, not for pleasure or for health, but for the express purpose of promoting the interests of the class whose manifold crimes, long known, are now being exposed on all sides. With such a paper honor and honesty are unknown. The language of justice and of morality in

its columns is the language of hypocrisy, as that language is on the lips of the class for whom it speaks. What it says in favor of a suspension of judgment in the matter of poison-dealing packers, abstractly true through it all is, is foulness in the concrete, considering how oblivious the paper was of all those principles of justice and of civilization when the question was the contemplated murder of innocent workingmen, whose intelligence and bravery interfered with the plunder of the Working Class by the owners of that same paper.

Let those who have sawdust in their heads, and not brains, deny the existence of classes. Read the language of the Wall Street gamblers' "Evening Post".

Read its language when capitalists, and its language when workingmen are concerned. The two languages are not remotely akin. "Justice" for the capitalist plunderers of Labor; "Iniquity" for the Labor victims of the capitalist class. For the former, all the safeguards that civilization throws, even around the criminal; for the latter all the outrages that barbarism showers, even upon the innocent. Such is class morality; such is class patriotism; such is class "Law and Order"; such is class "Christianity"—Away, branch and root, with the triple-dyed Fraud! Onward to the ballot box to pronounce sentence upon the triple-dyed Crime, and to the industrial organization of the Working Class to execute the sentence, and rear the Socialist Republic.

and being subject to one jurisdiction, would be an example of an industrial union. The same principle to be carried out in a national federation.

This form gives to the working class its true class expression; it is infinitely more powerful, and permits of a greater unity of action than ANY OTHER WEAPON the working class can POSSIBLY use. It is the only force that can give solidarity to the working class; in standing squarely on the class struggle it alone can give to the workers the class consciousness necessary to enable them to fulfill their historic mission.

The carrying out of the principle of industrial organization means that the working class will build up within the present system an organization that will be fully equipped in every way to take, hold, and operate the machinery of production when the occasion demands.

Why We Have Left the Socialist Party.

First—Because we cannot endorse the position of the Socialist Party regarding the relation of the industrial and political activity of the working class.

We believe its position that political action alone is sufficient to free the working class, is untrue; that it is not teaching the working class the whole truth, but is withholding from them the very basis of the class struggle; and that it is pursuing this course either because it does not know better, or is sacrificing the basic principles of the Socialist movement in order to hold a few "immediate demand" votes for the Socialist party. In either case we cannot longer remain with it.

Its cringing attitude toward the A. F. of L. (an organization recognizing the identity of interest between capitalist and laborer) in order to get a few votes from among its members; and its hostile attitude toward the I. W. W. (an organization standing squarely upon the class struggle), for fear these votes will be driven away from them, has driven us to the opinion that it no longer represents the working class interests sufficiently to deserve the support of the workers.

Second—That the Socialist Party does not stand for the unity of the two Socialist parties of the United States, notwithstanding its resolutions on the question; but that the S. P. press and most of its prominent members, in almost every part of the country, are persistently prejudicing the minds of the rank and file against the Socialist Labor Party, so that the work of unity will be delayed indefinitely.

Third—That we are emphatically in favor of a party-owned press, both for propaganda and organization purposes.

Fourth—That we are opposed to the "State Autonomy" plan of organization; as promoting disorder and confusion both within and without the party. For instance, Local Cincinnati, in a recent reform campaign, warned the workers against municipal ownership as advocated by the reform party; while just across the river, in Covington, Ky., the comrades were out with flaring handbills stating: "We are the only political party in Covington that stands for immediate municipal ownership of the gas plant," etc. What would you say if a workingman asked YOU how an International Socialist Party that stood for the same thing in Germany, France, Italy, Spain, America, etc., could issue two such conflicting documents in cities only a mile apart?

State Autonomy.—Thirty-six States organized; thirty-six platforms, varying from the most extreme "Opportunist" to the most radical. Some States endorsing the I. W. W., and others kicking out its members for daring to ask that it be discussed.

And its effect on party discipline? We have men in high places in the party advising the membership to vote for capitalist candidates, publishing flattering notices of Hearst and his crowd; and, on the other hand, vilifying and abusing comrades who have never faltered in their fight for a working class Socialist party.

Press Committee, Local 130, I.W.W.

BUTTE MINERS GIVE DISRUPTION ANOTHER JOLT.

(Special to the Daily People.)

Butte, Mont., June 20.—Butte Miners' Union No. 1, in meeting assembled, accepted the report of delegates to the Western Federation convention; and has withdrawn from the State Federation of Labor. A committee was appointed to settle the Ropemans' and Smeltermans' controversy.

HOTEL EMPLOYES

VICTIMIZED BY EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION THROUGH BLACKLIST.

Objected to Being Treated As Criminals

—Letter Sent Out by Ass'n, Now in Possession of the I. W. W. Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union—Leaflet to the Industry Substantiated in an Important Point.

In a leaflet, entitled, "To the Hotel and Restaurant Workers of New York," issued by Local 130, I. W. W. Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Industrial Union, it was stated that an organization of hotel men is in existence, called the Hotel Association, represented, in every important town throughout the United States, which has established a blacklist system (at present they are discussing ways and means to improve the same) and is operating it very successfully to the detriment of the workers. The object of such an institution is well known; it is to break all resistance of the employes.

Some of the readers of said leaflet were a little suspicious about these statements and were looking for proof. To these doubting Thomases the following copy of a letter from the office of the secretary of the Hotel Association (the original is on file in the office of Local 130 for inspection) may serve as an eye opener:

(Copy.)

Office of the Secretary of the Hotel Association of New York City.

Officers:—Geo. C. Boldt, president; Geo. W. Sweeney, vice-president; Elmer A. Darling, treasurer; Fred A. Reed, secretary.

Executive Committee:—H. H. Brockway, Simon Ford, Gustav Bauman, Q. B. Libbey, Mark Merrifield, Park Avenue Hotel.

Fred A. Reed, Secretary.

New York, April 30, 1906.

Hotel Martinique reports:—That about six o'clock Saturday evening the following members of our kitchen force quit work, without giving us any notice and without any excuse other than because a notice had been put up to the effect that all packages leaving the kitchen would be opened by the time keeper, and if it had not been for the resourcefulness of our chef and the courtesy of some adjoining hotels, we would have been in a very disagreeable position.

Charles Blaine, night cook.

Joe Henges, assistant Garde Mgr. Tabur Landry, assistant Garde Mgr. Hevici Landry, Garde Mgr. Jac Le Camp, Broiler.

Charles Commouse, Roast Cook. Jac Lafourque, assistant Fry Cook. Fred Becker, Fry Cook. Jac Hues, Second Cook.

Jac Cherrier, Assistant Second Cook.

Yours very truly,

Fred A. Reed, Secretary.

It is not necessary to make any further remarks about this matter. It speaks for itself. Only one thing may be pointed out and it is this: These victimized workers can't work any more in hotels under the control of said organization, which means practically a sentence of slow starvation, as nearly all important hotels are connected with the organization.

Fellow workers:—Realize the significance of the matter and unite under the banner of the Industrial Workers of the World, who alone will be able to put a stop to such procedures of our employers.

Press Committee, Local 130, I.W.W.

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DAILY PEOPLE CELEBRATION.

Don't fail to attend the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the Daily People at Cypress Hills Park, Brooklyn, on July 4. This celebration promises to be the best of its kind. A lively interest is manifested in it, and a big demonstration is expected. See advertisement on the third page.

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF SOCIALISM

ALL SOCIETIES FALL INTO TWO CLASSES, THE EXPLOITING AND THE EXPROITED—CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT ITSELF DICTATES THE WAY TO A BOLISH EXPLOITATION.

If we examine attentively the societies developing at the present day in the civilized countries of the old and new world, they present, we find, one common phenomenon: absolutely and irrevocably all of them fall into two distinct and separate classes; one class accumulates in utter idleness enormous and ever-increasing revenues, the other, far more numerous, labors life-long for miserable wages; one class lives without working, the other works without living—without living a life; at least, worthy of the name. When confronted by so marked and so painful a contrast, the question must, at once occur to every mind that reflects: Is this sad state of affairs the result of inherent necessity, inseparable from the organic conditions of human nature; or is it merely the outcome of certain historical tendencies that are destined to disappear at a later stage of social evolution?

We arrive at the conclusion that the truth is to be found in the latter alternative: that capitalistic property, with its caste division of humanity into capitalists and laborers, is by no means the product of conditions inherent in human nature, but simply the result of powerful historical causes which will eventually disappear.

Modern sociologists are still groping about for a point of departure from which to explain the complex of social phenomena.

We no longer hope to reconstitute society upon a fabulous state of nature; we are seeking now to discover the natural laws of social evolution.

Biological sociologists would determine the principles of the new science by analogies drawn from the animal world; but the principles peculiar to social growth still remain to be discovered.

There is also the group of psychological sociologists, who seek the motives of collective life in the individual instincts of the man. But personal propensities are so largely the result of historical inheritance and the social environment, that there is constant danger, in pursuing this method, of confusing cause with consequence, and thus becoming involved in a vicious circle.

Still another coterie, the geographical sociologists, endeavor to explain society from the standpoint of the physical environment. Racial peculiarities may perhaps be accounted for on these grounds, and there can be no doubt that early social development is strictly determined by geographic factors; but modern society is far removed in time and acquired attainments from purely physical nature, and it is no longer possible to refer all historical phenomena directly to their geographical antecedents.

What is required is some unifying concept that will take from biology, psychology, and geography the necessary first principles, and construct these premises into a distinctly sociologic theory.

It is evident that the social faculties of man are a later acquisition, and, if we mistake not, they were originally derived from the antecedent economic instinct; man is to be distinguished from the lower orders by his marked economic capacity. As far back as we know anything about him, the human being has shown a conscious desire to improve his lot. With primitive man isolated production was the rule, and the family constituted the largest social group. But economic development, the invention of instruments for hunting and fishing, led to a division of labor, to cooperation and association, and the family was accordingly enlarged into the clan and the tribe.

It is possible to account for the origin of society on economic grounds, it is certainly consistent to continue the same method and refer the abstract principles of political economy to the concrete development of social institutions.

The law of a country constitutes the reaction that society, or more strictly, its ruling class, accords to existing economic conditions, it must then of necessity reflect these same conditions, and directly follow in the train of their successive transformations. The law, in other words, proceeds from the economic constitution and changes as it changes. The theory which regards the law as the product of the national conscience, or the result of the peculiar inheritance and habits of a people, is thus entirely erroneous. On the contrary, the legal systems of the most widely separated races and nations must be the same whenever the prevailing economic conditions are identical. On the other hand, every nation must undergo a change in its legal system when the onward march of its civilization has brought about radical changes in its economic constitution.

From the early dawn of juristic life during that primitive period when the law was worked out upon a family and

the serf system developed in Germany earlier than elsewhere. Out of this economic change grew a legal transformation, a new code of laws and rights. In the course of time Southern Europe, also, developed the serf system, and it then became expedient to adapt the Germanic code, which was the outgrowth of the serf economy, and substitute it for the classic law of Rome that was the product of slavery. This change had nothing to do with the victory of one national code over another. In whatever country the new code took foot-hold, it was simply the natural reproduction of a legal system already determined for the purpose, to meet the reappearance, in such country, of the economic conditions that had originally given it life in Germany. We have thus additional proof of the law's absolute independence of national character, and its exclusive dependence upon the economic structure of society.

Thus legal history shows us that instead of being the product of abstract reason, or the result of national consciousness, or a racial characteristic, the law is simply the necessary outcome of economic conditions.

With these historical facts in view, the why of the International Socialist Movement is easily understood. In all civilized countries the means of wealth production have developed from the privately handled tool or privately conducted vehicle, into the great machine, and the greater system of machinery, collectively operated, which, as we know, is internationally the means of production to-day. The private owners of these collectively operated industrial institutions subject their wage-slaves to a system of ruthless exploitation. We workers are also subjected by the owners of industry to an oppressive tyranny. It is but natural that in all countries, as this economic condition reaches a certain stage of development, regardless of race or religion, the workers awake, gather and organize to overthrow the industrial tyranny of the capitalists, and prepare themselves to take, in an organized manner, direct control and charge of industry; that they agitate for the abolition of the exploitation of their labor, and seek to establish collective control that they may enjoy the full product of their toil.

Advanced international capitalism, therefore, co-operative use of the means of wealth production, furnishes the economic foundation of International Socialism.—Selected from Loria.

THE RECUPERATIVE POWERS OF NATIONS

ONCE MORE SHOWN TO BE THE WEALTH PRODUCED BY THE WORKING CLASS—THE "LONDON STATIST" AND ROBERT OWEN.

The "London Statist", one of England's leading financial journals, had an article recently on the recuperative powers of the nations from the effects of war. It was in part as follows:

The Franco-German war cost France two of her greatest provinces and at least 400 millions of money. It involved a vast subsequent expenditure on armaments of all kinds; it has been followed by a long period of strained relations with Germany, and France did not feel herself completely safe until she concluded the alliance with Russia. In 1875, little more than four years after the conclusion of the war, France had shown such recuperative power that Prince Bismarck and Count von Moltke grew alarmed and thought it was time to weaken her further. Six or seven years after the war, although the debt had in the interval grown enormously, the price of the three per cent rentes rose to the level at which it had stood for nearly six months before the Franco-German war, proving that the wealth of France had so grown in the interval that she was able to bear all her additional burdens and to buy up and hold all her additional debt.

It is manifest that the South African war cannot have been the principal cause of the depression which has weighed upon this country for so many years. It is true that we spent, in round figures, 250 millions sterling upon the war. But the expenditure was spread over two and one-half years. And when it is reflected that in a time of profound peace, with an economic government in power, the revenue of the United Kingdom in the year that has just closed amounted, in round figures, to 144 millions sterling, it is plain that the spending of 250 millions spread over two and one-half years cannot have entirely disorganized our finances. No doubt the debt has grown very considerably. But the debt in France grew still more heavily a full generation ago, and yet in seven

years that additional debt was absorbed and the price of French rentes had gone up to the level at which they stood before the war.

The real cause of the unsatisfactory economic condition of this country during recent years is that we had become inefficient. We had held the first place in trade and manufactures for so long a time that we had come to look upon ourselves as beyond the reach of competition. We had grown slothful and lazy. We had lost much of our old spirit of enterprise. We contented ourselves with machinery that, if not obsolete, was obsolescent. And what the war in South Africa really did was to disclose to ourselves, as well as to the rest of the world, that we were no longer the energetic, enterprising, and efficient people we had so long been. The disclosure has had excellent effects. The inefficiency was everywhere. The government and all the government departments were too amaturish. The railways had fallen entirely behind the times, and the banks had got into a rut out of which it was scarcely possible to move them. They held no real reserves. They lent and discounted up to the hilt. And when the war came, and brought with it an immense increase of debt, there was nowhere—because the banks kept no reserves—the means of taking up and paying for the new debt.

"Japan has waged a war out of all proportions greater, more formidable, and more trying than that which we conducted in South Africa. Japan, as we have often pointed out in these columns, is now pretty much in the same economic condition, as England was during the great Napoleonic struggle. And therefore Japan's expenditure formed a greater drain upon her than our outlay in South Africa. The Japanese people, from the Sovereign down, are among the most efficient in the world. The war was fully prepared for, was carefully thought out, was most admirably financed. Still, the cost of the war was exceedingly heavy. In round figures, when we take into account the bringing home of the armies from Manchuria and the general winding-up of hostilities, we may say, roughly,

that the war has cost Japan 200 millions sterling.

"The Japanese people recognize that they cannot become the dominant power in the Far East without making sacrifices. And they are deliberately making the sacrifices, and putting forth all their efforts to enable the country speedily to get out of its difficulties. That they will succeed is as certain as anything human can be. A little harder work, a little self-denial, a little perseverance, and a great deal of intelligence will enable them to attain their ends before very long. They are pushing a great trade vigorously in China. The financial trials of Japan will be very short-lived.

"The case of Russia is far less promising. We have not yet the means of ascertaining the cost of the war to Russia. In fact, the winding-up of the war has not yet seriously begun. For instance, the army is not brought back from Manchuria. But we shall be well within the mark, probably, if we estimate the cost of the war to Russia between 300 and 400 millions sterling. If the Russian people were as united as the Japanese, as ready to make sacrifices, and as ardent to do everything for the good of the common weal, we should regard an expenditure of 300 or 400 millions as a small matter for so great a country as Russia. The revenue of Russia from taxation, railways, the spirit of all kinds, amounts in round figures to about 200 millions sterling annually. Therefore, the expenditure on the war would be at the least a year and a half's revenue. It would be only necessary to work harder, to save more resolutely, and to borrow abroad so as to consolidate the debt.

"Unfortunately for Russia, her people are not united, are not prepared to make sacrifices; are, on the contrary, full of discontent and dissatisfaction. It is very little wonder that they should be. For their government has proved itself not only hopelessly incompetent, but so heedless as not to think it necessary to make preparation for a wild adventure. Over and above this, the working classes are exceedingly badly paid and very poor, while the peasantry, who form the great bulk of the population, are steeped in actual misery. It is this which constitutes the great problem in Russia, not the mere cost of the war with Japan. It is the discontent of the workers in the towns and the sullen misery of the peasantry."

This article recalls a paragraph in Frederick Engels' "Socialism From

Utopia to Science". Referring to the successful "social welfare" experiments of Robert Owen at New Lanark, Engels writes:

"Still, Owen was not satisfied. The life he had afforded his workingmen was, in his eyes, still a long way off from that which became the dignity of man. 'Those people were my slaves,' he would say. The comparatively favorable circumstances in which he placed them were yet far from permitting a well rounded and rational development of the character and the intellect, let alone the free play of human activity. 'And yet,' he remarked, 'the working portion of the 2,500 people produced as much actual wealth for society as, barely half a century before, it was possible for a population of 600,000 to produce. I asked myself the question, What becomes of the difference between the wealth consumed by these 2,500 people and that which would have been required for the consumption of those 600,000?' The answer was evident. It was applied to supplying the properties of the establishment with 5 per cent. interest on their investment, besides a profit of more than £300,000 (\$1,500,000). What was true of New Lanark, was in a higher degree true of all other factories in England. 'Without this new wealth, produced by machinery, the wars directed to the overthrow of Napoleon and the maintenance of the aristocratic principles of society could not have been carried on; and this new power was the product of the working class.' To that class, accordingly, belonged also the fruits. The new, mighty powers of production, utilized until then for the enrichment of the few and the enslavement of the masses, offered to Owen the basis for reconstruction of society, and, to his mind, were intended as the common property of all, to be operated only for the common wellbeing of all."

Owen knew what constituted "the recuperative power of nations", and maintained "the aristocratic principles of society of his day," as they now maintain capitalistic principles—it was, as the "London Statist" dimly perceives in all the cases quoted above, "the new wealth" created by the working class. Without "a little harder work, a little self-denial, a little perseverance, and a great deal of intelligence" and co-operation on its part, the pursuit of war and recuperation from the effects of war would be impossible. As Engels, in epitomizing Owen, says: "To that class, accordingly, belonged also the fruits." But another class still have those, again necessitating another effort in the direction of Owen's ideal on the basis of modern scientific Socialism.

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The Desire for Happiness

(By H. M. in the Edinburgh Socialist.)

It is a fact that man, equally with his distant relations of the animal and vegetable world, is either consciously or unconsciously engaged in an unceasing search for happiness. The Marxian theory has it that society is changed, modified and explainable by the basis of wealth production, distribution and exchange upon which it rests. And this change in the laws, religious and social life is brought about through the discomfort imposed on the people by the new economic system. Their desire for happiness compels an adaptation of the intellectual and social conditions that will more completely harmonize with the material basis of their society, for it has been said that man is naturally lazy. The law of inertia applies to him as well as to inanimate objects, and hence the contradiction that those who suffer most under capitalism (the workers, starved physically and mentally) are difficult to rouse to rebellion. A representation of the misery and injustice of their lives and of the ideal for which they should strive frequently meets with opposition and enmity, as their love for ease and peace is thereby destroyed by such strong Socialist light and agitation. On the other hand, once educated and imbued with revolutionary Socialist ideals the worker cannot with happiness sink back into the old Capitalist quagmire of thought and action. When some animals sleep underground in winter, and other animals, birds, fishes, vegetables and insects, adopt various devices to escape extinction, they are as much devious of happiness as Socialist or non-Socialist man. There was a period in human history, evolutionary lore tells us, when society was organized into rude primitive communism and then altered to a system of chattel slavery of master and man when that was found of greater material and moral benefit than cannibalistic communism. Still later feudalism is established and later still, in answer to nature's irresistible commands, Capitalism takes shape. Ever since the institution of exploited and exploiting classes in society it has been torn and convulsed by class struggles, both sections desirous of effecting a happy life as their conflicting interests conceived it. And we here of the S. L. P. in the fore-front of progress, with vision clearer and our object better defined and nearer than ever before, are marching

forward to the Socialist Republic with the certain belief that what we seek to obtain, a truly happy condition for all, lies within our goal. This search for joy lies at the root of all religious and philosophic movements. The darker and more miserable is this "vale of tears" to its inhabitants, the more strenuously do they strive for the happier after-life, or, like the Stoics, steel themselves by philosophy to preserve cheerfulness under every circumstance. Every religious sect, "civilized" or savage, has its own painless territory ever in view, to become worthy of which, in some instances the grossest neglect of earthly rights, duties and interests have been perpetrated by mankind. So many blunders has the race made in its search, that Thomas Carlyle puts into the mouth of his German philosopher, "How the Lord must laugh at his manikins here below!" That the believer in the "eternal verities" could conceive a God who sneered and laughed at the work of his own hands strikes one as rather absurd if not fiendishly malignant. Certainly some of our fellow-creatures have ways of enjoying themselves that are a perpetual source of wonderment to their neighbors, but that is only one way of saying that what is food to one is poison to another. Some, like Dickens' Mrs. Pegotty, are never happy unless they are miserable, and our readers are no doubt familiar, among their own experiences, with more or less similar freaks. Our propaganda meetings at times furnish a rich harvest of these latter, who somehow or other find an S. L. P. man not the easiest of prey when attempts are made to impose their fads on him. It is refreshing to think that, outside of our own ranks, there are so many desirous of smoothing the path of life for us. For instance, there is the Capitalist class. It is perhaps awkward for their reputation as philanthropists that we credit them with Russian, Paris Commune, Peterloo, Featherstone and Colorado massacres and outrages committed on the working class. But then there is the silver lining to this dark cloud. For a trifling consideration of three quarters of the wealth produced they give the workers employment—and also shorten the toilers lives by half. The nobility of the capitalist class is further shown by a study of that bulwark of the people's liberty, "the free press." These mirrors of truth and sincerity derive a huge in-

come from the advertisements of an army of almost fanatical enthusiasts for the general welfare of the nation. Our wants may be supplied from the cradle to the grave by applying to the ladies and gentlemen who press their services on us and compete so keenly for the honor of satisfying our needs, seeking no further reward than a mere nominal profit of from 25 to 500 per cent. Not even contented with this evidence of regard they freely contribute in many articles such commodities as sand in sugar, coloring dye and rotten fruit in jam, shoddy in cloth and other adulterants. Not so very long ago numbers of people found in the cup that cheers, and at the same time inebriates, such a large addition of arsenic as to ensure the partakers not a respite from their sorrows of the moment only, but an eternal rest from all the ills that flesh is heir to, and perhaps an introduction to that paradise they had so vainly sought for on earth and which the benevolent fore-thought of some kind hearted brewer has now procured for them. And still we are discontented and unable to appreciate the kindness of these and similar actions! A few paltry, inadequate and easily paid fines is one way of appreciating them. Another—the S. L. P. method is to make a clean sweep of Capitalists, Capitalism and all its various rotteness and adulteration in order to make way for the general order, justice and cleanliness of the Socialist Republic. The desire on the part of a section of mankind to be at peace with themselves by working for the well-being of others, is never stronger or more apparent than at election times. How the prospective representatives of the workers gush over them in eagerness to serve their dupes. Noble lords and ladies then pay court to them who at other seasons are merely unashamedly conscious of their existence. Only a few years ago, if we had believed the "patriotic" press, many were the agonized sleepless nights passed by politicians in whose ears rang the shrieks of oppressed and justice-craving Outlanders who wished to sell themselves into wage-slavery unfeignedly with any foreign labor-power possessing perambulating pieces of merchandise, Chinese or otherwise. Ever unwearied in their mission of goodwill, during this last election, the Eight-Hour Bill opposer, or strike-smasher G. N. Barnes, M. P., and others

shall the revolutionary Socialist Labor Party mar the contentment of Labor M. P. Shackleton when he upholds child labor, or miners' officials, Bart and Fenwick, M. P., opponents of an eight-hour day to juveniles in mines, or Arthur Henderson, another parliamentary Eight-Hour Bill opposer, or strike-smasher G. N. Barnes, M. P., and others

SHERMAN REPORTS

ON HIS TOUR IN THE FAR WEST
AND THE RISING MOVEMENT.

Great Work Done by Western Federation of Miners Convention—Moyer and Haywood Re-elected—The Red Label of the I. W. W. to be Patronized—A. F. of L. Employers' Label Branded—Labor News Company Endorsed—Squeezing Fairgrievs in Montana—Ten Thousand Kansas United Mine Workers Apply for Admission—Similar Communications from Ohio and Indiana—The I. W. W.'s Cigarmakers Red Label Booming.

Denver, Colo., June 16.—Feeling that the readers of the People will be interested in the convention of the Department of Mining, better known as the Western Federation of Miners, I beg leave to submit the following report.

I arrived in Denver on May 28th, and attended the convention, beginning on the 29th, until it closed June 13th, and I am proud to say to our readers and friends that the 16th annual convention of the Western Federation of Miners has gone into history as being one of the most important ever held by the Mining Department. It did more real legislation looking to something for the working class than ever before in its history.

I will not go into details, but will briefly state that the preamble and constitution of the I. W. W. was endorsed as a whole, and without a dissenting vote, Industrial unionism was endorsed and trades unionism condemned in the strongest language. The Red Label of the I. W. W. was adopted as the official label for all commodities to be patronized by the membership of the Western Federation of Miners, known as the Mining Department. All the labels of the A. F. of L. were placed on the "We don't patronize" list. The Labor News Company, and such other reform papers, including the Industrial Worker and several others who have been friendly to the Industrial Workers of the World, were endorsed and recognized in a resolution as being friendly to the Department of Mining.

The convention went on record in the strongest terms demanding that all affiliation of their department be withdrawn from the State Federation of Montana. Mr. Alex Fairgrievs was condemned in strong words for his action in behalf of the A. F. of L., and the local union of which he is a member was ordered to expel him immediately; failing to do so, such local union will be deprived of its affiliation with the W. F. M.

It is conceded by all who have been in touch with the Federation in its past experiences, that this convention has done more than any ever held. It was also the means of creating considerable enthusiasm in Denver, where meetings were being held nearly every night during the session of different trades. The result is that the I. W. W. will have several more local unions in Denver, and several hundred members have already been added to the movement. Steps are being taken by the various local unions of the state of Colorado to put a State Organizer in the field, and it is the intention to organize the state, of which the I. W. W. and the W. F. M. is in a large majority of control at the present time.

In the election of officers, Moyer and Haywood, now in the Idaho prison, were unanimously reelected as president and general secretary-treasurer. Brother C. E. Mahoney, formerly of the Executive Board, was elected Vice-President, to succeed Vice-President Brother Williams, retired. All of the old members of the Board were reelected. Brother J. C. Lowry, of the Butte Miners' Union No. 1, was elected to succeed Brother C. E. Mahoney. Take it as a whole, I feel that the work of this convention means much to the Mining Department, as well as the general organization.

While in session, a representative came to the convention from Southern Kansas, with a message from ten thousand United Mine Workers, to the effect that they desired to join the Western Federation of Miners in a body. Several communications were received from Ohio and Pennsylvania, stating that the rank and file of the United Mine Workers in that section had become thoroughly disgusted with the old form of organization, and requesting that organizers be sent to their local unions to instruct them on industrial unionism, and pleading that they might be taken into the Mining Department of the I. W. W. All of these requests will be taken under consideration by the Executive Board, and such steps taken as they feel the case may warrant.

Since leaving the office May 9th, I beg to say that I have been through the Black Hills, several points in Utah and

Montana, and everywhere do I find the spirit for industrial unionism growing. I will leave Denver immediately, and proceed to Montana, where some work remains to be done. To those from whom I have received appeals, requesting my presence in different localities, I desire to say through the People that, while I am in the service all the time, it is impossible for me to comply with all requests. It would be more than a pleasure to me if I could cover the territory and meet with all of our local unions, but it is impossible. Hence those not having their requests complied with, I trust will wait with patience, believing that I, as their president, am acting in behalf of the whole membership, and working such territories as I feel the conditions demand my services at this time.

I expect to return to the office about June 25th, and it will be impossible for me to leave Chicago earlier than August 1st, as it will be necessary for me to clean up such work as has gathered at the office, and secure the necessary rest, that I may go out and comply with the many requests now being held in abeyance.

That our brothers may have some idea as to the interest shown in the I. W. W., am glad to say that the Industrial Cigar Company, of Butte, Montana, which started a little over three months ago with three workmen, are now working twenty-five people, and are behind in orders to the extent of eighty thousand. The demand is greater than their capacity to supply. While they are increasing their force every week, yet the increased demand for the Red Label is so great that it will probably be some months before they are in a position to fill all orders to date. It will not be many months before west of the Missouri River, nothing but the Red Label will be tolerated, demanded or used.

Trusting that this brief report may be of interest to the readers of the People, I am,

Fraternally yours,
Charles O. Sherman,
Gen. President.

YOUNGSTOWN STRIKE.

Financial Statement Out, As Promised—A Review of It.

On June 14, a letter to The People from Youngstown, O., dealing with the tinner's and slaters' strike there, conducted by Haywood Local 150, which withdrew from the A. F. of L., stated that "a financial statement of how the funds have been expended will be sent on in a few days, to show the workers that a strike can be conducted along proper lines, and with every penny accounted for; which is something the A. F. of L. have more or less always covered up."

The People is in receipt of this promised financial statement. It is as claimed, and duly signed by Samuel O. Reese and David M. Wilson, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Executive Committee, and F. C. Bowshot, recording secretary pro tem. A minute report, every receipt and expenditure is given in detail. It would require at the very least two or three columns of small type to publish it in The People, a thing which our limited space forbids.

The report shows that the receipts from all sources, from May 1 to June 12 were \$1,333.90. Of this \$245.00 were in cash in bank on May 1; and \$900 were received from I. W. W. headquarters at Chicago; the remainder coming from dues and donations. The expenses were \$1,216.19, of which \$606 were expended in the payment of strike benefits to fifty-nine men, whose names and amounts paid them are given; \$88.00 were loaned to fifteen strikers; and \$211.10 were expended on meetings, fares for strike breakers, telegrams, printed matter, etc., leaving a balance of \$15.71 on hand on June 12.

The report gives no evidence of there having been any graft for labor fakirs in the Youngstown I. W. W. strike.

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Ragione Nuova (Italian Monthly),

22 Bond st., Providence, R. I., per year 25

He who comes in contact with workingmen reading either of these languages should not fail to call attention to these papers and endeavor to secure subscriptions. Sample copies will be sent upon request. Address each paper as per address given above.

Henry Kuhn,
National Secretary, S. L. P.

LONDON LETTER

A REVIEW OF THINGS PARLIAMENTARY.

Will Thorne Advocates Smashing of Window Glass as a Solution of the Labor Problem!—The Present Zulu Uprising Engineered by Johnnie Bull Solely as an Excuse for Confiscation of the Land from the Natives

London, June 12.—Talking about "The Worker" in my last letter reminded me of an amusing paragraph I observed in it some months ago referring to Will Thorne, M. P. Mr. Thorne is a member of the S. D. F. and his return to Parliament was trumpeted abroad as an S. D. F. victory. Like most S. D. F. claims it is fraudulent. Mr. Thorne contested South West Ham under the banner of the Labor Party whose constitution forbids its candidates even to call themselves Socialists. The paragraph in question was to the effect that some man of the name of Schleuter had told the editor of "The Worker" that he had met Thorne at the house of Frederick Engels many years ago and that Engels had predicted a glorious future for Thorne. Whether or not Engels actually said this, cannot now be verified. What is quite certain is that Thorne's glorious future shows absolutely no signs of materializing. He has spoken only once since he was returned to the House, and the performance was far from being illustrious. The debate was on the unemployed question. The Laborists have been pushing the Government to adopt some reform measures to deal with the evil. The Government's policy is to express boundless sympathy with the unemployed, while avoiding definite action. As this is an unpopular and thankless job it is naturally enough entrusted to the Labor Cabinet Minister John Burns. Barnes, Hardie and Thorne were all engaged in pushing Burns about and the Liberal and Tory M. Ps. were smiling cheerfully at the spectacle. When Thorne got up to speak he indulged in one of those opera bouffe rhetorical explosions for which the S. D. F. is famous. He said "Unless the Government made an effort to grapple with the problem, the unemployed would attempt to grapple with it themselves." And how? "IF A FEW WINDOWS WERE BROKEN then no doubt some importance would be attached to the question and the Government would realize that it was urgent." Imagine the conception of the working class revolution that exists in the mind of a man who proposes to bring capital to its knees by smashing a few windows. So much for the object of "The Worker" and Schleuter's testimonial.

Watchers.

party of troops engaged in collecting the tax were hustled by a group of natives. One of the troopers lost his head, shot a native dead and was immediately killed along with one of his fellows. In revenge fourteen natives were condemned by a court-martial and shot. All the chiefs and headmen of the different tribes to the number of several hundreds were compelled to witness the execution. One old chief who said that he could not bear to see his kinsmen slaughtered, was placed in a prominent position in the front rank of the spectators.

This spectacle was designed to terrorize the natives into subjection. Like all terroristic schemes it had the opposite effect. Under the leadership of Bambeata, revolt has broken out through the whole of Zululand and at the present moment it looks as if the Natal troops were quite unfit to make headway against the rebels. Imperial troops, equipped with guns and supplies voted by the Labor Party a few months ago, will proceed to the scene. The natives will be massacred in thousands, their lands confiscated, and their tribal organization broken up. The shattered remnants will constitute Natal's future proletarian and British capitalists will erect branches of their works in Pietermaritzburg and Durban for the sake of the cheap labor as they have done already in Cairo, Calcutta, Bombay, the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

The wave of bourgeois Laborism has left the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain quite unscathed. Never was it more active and energetic than at present. Even at this early stage the accuracy of its criticism and predictions with regard to the Labor Party are beginning to be admitted by many who six months ago were carried off their feet by the success of the latter. The Annual Conference of the party was held at Easter in Edinburgh and was well attended by delegates from all parts of the country. A spirit of hope and determination was everywhere manifest. The principles of industrial unionism were discussed carefully and exhaustively and the Conference by an overwhelming majority recommended the branches to form Industrial Union Clubs wherever possible so as to prepare by a general propaganda for the establishment of the British wing of the I. W. W. This recommendation has been acted upon at once and everything points to a rousing summer of S. L. P. and I. W. W. agitation.

ASHLAND FAVERS UNITY.

S. P. and S. L. P. Men Form I. W. W. Educational Club to Promote It.

Ashland, Mass., June 14.—The Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party men of Ashland held a meeting in the Ashland A. A. Club rooms for the purpose of organizing a club. There were fifteen present at the meeting. The meeting was called to order by J. B. Hamilton. Dyer Enger was chosen chairman. George Miller was chosen temporary secretary for the evening. Hamilton spoke on the Socialist question about half an hour. J. B. Hamilton was elected organizer; Henry H. Guibold, recording secretary; W. H. Young, financial secretary; George Miller was elected treasurer. A literature committee consisting of Young, Enger and Guibold was elected. A committee of three was elected to draw up a constitution, consisting of Keen, Miller and Enger. It was decided to name the club the I. W. W. Educational Club.

The following appeal was drawn up:

The I. W. W. Educational Club of Ashland, appeals to the Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party members for unity, as it is a foregone conclusion that there is no necessity for two parties on the political field. Through the formation of the I. W. W. there is no ground for division in the ranks of the revolutionary Socialists. It is a recognized fact that the A. F. of L. has ceased to be an organization for the working class. Such being the fact it follows that the I. W. W. being the only organization to-day whose ultimate aim is to overthrow the present system and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we should make it the basis of unity.

(Signed) Committee.
George Miller, S. P.; J. B. Hamilton, S. P.; W. H. Young, S. L. P.; Dyer Enger, S. L. P.

SWEDISH LITERATURE.

The following S. L. P. pamphlets can be had in Swedish from the office of "Arbetaren":

The Burning Question of Unionism, 5 cents.

Socialism versus Anarchism, 5 cents.

Reform or Revolution, 5 cents.

What Means This Strike? 5 cents.

Socialism, by McClure, 5 cents.

Also:

Socialismens Hornsten (The Corner Stone of Socialism) by Axel Danielson, per copy 10 cents.

A large stock on hand of the leaflet "Which is Right?" price 15 cents per hundred, \$1.50 per thousand, postage paid.

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TO THE SOCIALIST COMRADES.

(Continued from page 1.)

membership; and it is only after two years of hard work that we have asked them to take a stand. We realized that most of the members were not familiar with the points involved; so we arranged discussion meetings, spoke in our meetings, in the ward branches, and to the individual members.

The response to our efforts was, to speak mildly, surprising. We found that, while we were agitating our views, other members of the organization were busy spreading reports that we were trying to split the party, that we were becoming anarchists, did not believe in political action, and were simply staying in the party to get all the members we could to join the S. L. P. These, and any other story, which they concocted to discredit us in the eyes of our membership, were industriously circulated among the "stay at home members."

We were frankly told that the Socialist Party was not interested in the question; and that they wanted to be left alone, etc.

Finally our local convention to elect delegates to the State convention was called. Some of our opponents saw every "stay at home member" possible, and begged them to be at the convention "to vote against the I. W. W. crowd and save the party."

We presented the propositions we stood for, signed by nine members who were willing to go to the State convention and work for their adoption, if endorsed by Local Cincinnati. When we ended a discussion of these principles we were hooted and jeered.

In spite of the fact that every member who took the floor spoke in favor of the industrial form of organization, the motion to endorse was lost; and we were afterward told that if some outside of "our crowd" had introduced the proposition it would have been carried. This will show how successful were the efforts to prejudice the "stay at home" members against us.

We were not even allowed to debate the other propositions. A motion to table shut off discussion; and they were tabled. Seeing that we could not honestly represent the local at the convention, we withdrew our names from the list of nominees.

Noting our stand on these principles, the S. L. P. invited us, as fraternal delegates from the I. W. W., to attend their State convention and present our resolutions there. Accepting the invitation, ten members of the Socialist Party and the I. W. W. went to Columbus, where both conventions were in session. We presented our propositions to the S. L. P. convention and they were endorsed.

Finding that the industrial question had not been presented to the S. P. convention, we went there to present a plan for bringing about unity between the two parties and a resolution on the industrial question. We had frankly told the delegates in conversation that we did not agree with our party's position on fundamental questions; and wanted a decision in order that we might know whether we belonged in or out of the Socialist Party.

When we asked for the floor, after the regular business of the convention was completed, we were subjected to a bitter attack from delegates; and, not only were refused the floor to speak on matters of principle, but were denied the right to reply to their false accusations; in spite of the protests of delegates, who did not even know us, against the manifest injustice of the proceedings.

Having gone thus far in our efforts to get a decision upon what we believe the vital principles of the Socialist MOVEMENT; and being met by every obstruction they could devise, except reasonable argument, we decided that we no longer belonged in the party.

For these reasons we have resigned from the Socialist Party.

Several ward branches have returned their charter to the Socialist Party and are re-organizing as branches of the S. L. P.

Fraternally,

(Signed) J. M. Dial, Chairman,
M. C. Koettel, Secretary.

This statement was signed by the following members of Local Cincinnati, Socialist Party:

John Rader, A. J. Swing, Julius Zorn, Philip Ludwig, Edwd. Gardner, M. C. Koettel, W. A. Peyton, W. E. Blettner, V. W. Strehli, Frank E. Jansen, Mrs. A. J. Swing, Chas. McDonald, August Boesche, Jr., Georgetta Blettner, E. H. Vaupel, Walter Wulfek, Emil Miller, J. A. Herbert, Harry Slomer, E. Lang, H. H. Meyer, Paul Luhn, J. M. Dial, Jr., E. F. Johnson, Chas. Moschel, John Isaack, Peter Herbert.

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Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE
UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172



The cross was the emblem of all that
was materially weakest, of slavery and
the shameful death of the slave. The
eagle was the emblem of the Roman
Empire, the greatest embodiment of
force which the world has ever seen. The
eagle and the cross encountered each other.
Which prevailed?

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE MESSIANIC AGE.

It is doubtful whether at any other
period of the world's history the Messianic
fervor animated so many nations
at once. Hardly a nation there is that
has not some time in its history felt the
Messianic fire. In these days of ours,
however, the fire is breaking out simultaneously
on several parts of the globe's
surface.

In China a new national hymn, in-

spired, no doubt, by the Japanese vic-

tories over Russia, has sprung up during
recent years. There is a sharp edge to
it. A strophe thereof runs this wise:

"Oh, may our country, like a lion
awakened, rise to its full might, and
shake off the oppressor. May it take its
place among nations, like a beautiful sis-
ter among her sisters in her father's
house. May it be powerful like Eng-
land and great like America. May its
harvests shed plenty upon the toilers and
its people's face shine with oil of con-

tent. May that day soon come. Oh,
it is coming!"

Then, in connection with certain opini-

ous recent happenings in South Africa,
the news comes of a prophecy that is

running like wild-fire through the valleys

and the mountain slopes of the Zulus.

It is this:

"A great war will come, and the spirits
of your ancestors shall arise from the
mists, and, led by those great chiefs,
Mogekatzie, Dingaan, Hlala, Zandt, and
Massal, they will aid their descendants

to drive the white man into the sea."

As a third nation, that is being moved
by the Messianic afflatus, Russia natu-

rally suggests herself. But the mention
of Russia in this connection as naturally
suggests a still vaster country, a country
that embraces Russia, a nation that

takes in a vast portion of the globe—

THE PROLETARIAT. Its hymn is the
Right to Labor; its prophecy the Eman-

cipation of the Working Class from
Wage Slavery, and, with it, the redemp-

tion of the Human Race; the strain to

which it marches keeps step with all the
nobiest aspirations of all ages—realizable
only now.

This, truly, is the true Messianic Age.

MORAL MORGUES.

At the time of the allied intervention
in China, when the allies began getting
into one another's hair telling tales con-

cerning each other's rascality against
the Chinese, and Count Waldeser was
sent over to establish order, an Italian

illustrated magazine published a car-

toon descriptive of the situation. Count
Waldeser stood, with bristling mous-

tache and peeled teeth, before a row of
soldiers emblematic of the allies. At the

head of the row stood England, France,
followed, then Germany, then America,
and so on. England pointed his left

thumb surreptitiously at France as the
culprit, France did ditto at Germany,

and so down the line to little Spain,
who stood last, and pointed his right

thumb back at England. The cartoon
was good, the satire fitting. Such is

the picture presented to-day by the string
of capitalist culprits, before the angered

and avenging Genius of the Age, at
whose bar they all feel summoned. The

Stato Lodge, of mill owners' atrocities,
throws the blame upon the meat-pack-

ers; the meat-packers throw the blame
upon the Standard Oil; the Standard

Oil throws the blame upon the railroad
Presidents; the railroad Presidents
throw the blame upon the mine owners;

the mine owners throw the blame upon
the Insurance Companies; the Insurance

Companies throw the blame upon the
Gas Companies; and so all along the

line until it has come down to President
Nicholas Murray Butler, who tries to

throw the blame upon the "moral

morgue."

Addressing the graduating classes of
Columbia University, President Butler
joined the chorus of lamentation on the
way the "Pillars of Law and Order" were
being shaken to a fall, and, the "Old Adam"
asserting itself within him, he sought, in alliterative language to roll
the blame off his own shoulders upon
the shoulders of the "shriveled souls"
that are exposed in the "moral morgue"
as though he himself were on the outside.

Not a whit less in degree to the infamy
of the capitalist establishments that are pitchforked (and of the rest
that will be) is the infamy of the capitalist
factories, except Universities, which turn out the adulterated instruction
that Columbia University turns out of its professorial mills on economics,
social science, history and kindred departments,
and the pestiferous example
that it sets in the glorification of the Depews, the Rockefellers, the Baers, etc.

Depew certainly lies with "shriveled soul" in the "moral morgue" only for his swindles as, an insurance director, and not before, when he periodically picked the pockets of the railway
employees with false economics, for which Columbia University sang his praises? Was it, perchance, a mere accident that, when last year the miserably-paid and worse treated employees of the Belmont
lines struck for redress, the Manager of the lines, needing scabs, quickly turned to Columbia University for a supply? Or was it accident that the call was promptly answered, and that the incubees of President Nicholas Murray Butler promptly responded, and marched to their ignominious scab work through the streets in platoons, singing College slogans? Putrid meat is no worse than putrid taint—canned, bottled, or otherwise. The former produces ulcers on the body, the latter on the mind. It inspires scaberry.

All capitalism is a "moral morgue," and in that morgue with "shriveled souls," lies every individual capitalist and every individual, upholder and beneficiary of capitalism—whether his business is to turn out dog-meat sausage or grammatical scabs.

LO, A CLOWN!

The latest contribution to the Tumbling-Jack style of reasoning that utterly disproves, disposes of, and throws Socialism upon the rubbish heap, comes from the New York "Sun". With balloon-trousers inflated, clown's cap tipping to one side, and face tattooed into a grin, the "Sun's" economist tumbles into the arena with this argument in justification of capitalism and trituration of Socialism:

"This [the Socialist principle] is disputed, if not utterly disproved by the fact that where there is limited capital there is limited production, and where there is limited production there is dire and general poverty."

If that style of reasoning holds good, why not this other:

"There was no rotten meat canned and sold as 'Jewel' among the Indians; there is an unlimited quantity of rotten meat canned and sold as 'Jewel' in America. The quantity of wealth among the Indians was limited, among them there was dire and general poverty; in America the quantity of wealth is plentiful; therefore, the canning and selling of rotten meat is the cause of plentiful wealth."

Or this other:

"There are, among the Makololo of Central Africa, no railroad magnates who own stock in industries and thereby are able to undersell producers who do not own railroads, ruin them, drive them to suicide and confiscate their property; in America there are stacks of such railroad magnates, in fact, "they all do it," ply the trade of ruining other folks. The quantity of wealth among the Makololo is limited, among them there is dire and general poverty; in America the quantity of wealth is plentiful;—therefore, the ruining of other people by railroad magnates is the cause of plentiful wealth."

Or this other:

"Look at a certain island in the Pacific, it consists of a rock 2x4 miles, with not a soul living on it. A careful census of the place has brought out the fact that there is not a Depew not a McCall, not a Barnes, not a Roosevelt, in short, or in full, there is not on it a single capitalist who cheats, commits perjury, violates all laws of God and man, nor is there a single President and his assistant secretary who either applauds the shooting of women and children after battle, or "drags them out," like Mrs. Minor Morris was dragged out from the President's vestibule; in America there are plenty of these folks. The quantity of wealth among the Makololo is limited, among them there is dire and general poverty; in America the quantity of wealth is plentiful;—therefore, cheating, committing perjury, violating the law of God and man, and outraging womanhood is the cause of plentiful wealth."

"Capital" is the privately owned giant implement of production, brought into existence by Labor and stolen from La-

bors by the Capitalist Class. It is not the thief character, which to-day attaches to the necessities of wealth-production, in other words, it is not the "capital" feature of the implements of production, that renders wealth plentiful. What renders wealth plentiful is the toil of the Working Class applied to those implements of production. What the private ownership, that is, the "capital" feature of the necessities of wealth production does is, first to keep down the quantity of wealth that could be produced, provided the machinery of production were freed from its present private ownership, its "capital" feature; secondly, to corner the bulk of that wealth into hands of the cheating and law breaking capitalist class, leaving the toilers in abject misery and dependence.

The arena of capitalist reasoning has become an arena of tumbling clowns.

FORTUNATELY, TOO LATE.

Europe enjoys the distinction of harboring a gentleman by the name of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu is a sort of American Carroll D. Wright—he enjoys perpetrating tart sayings regarding economic subjects, and periodically, every time Socialist thought takes a leap, to come forward with some bit of alleged science to disconcert the move, and darken counsel. The present admirably revolutionary attitude of the mujik delegation in the Duma could not fail to invite Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu to step into the arena in his usual role. The invitation was, of course, accepted. Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu condemns the peasants' program. If put through, the public is informed, it will "fix the feebleness of Russia's agricultural production and of her rural population". The reason and conclusion are in Mr. Leroy-Beaulieu's choicest vein—a little sociologic knowledge, and a mass of sociologic ignorance.

The small commune is the cradle of the human race. The bulk of Russia, still agricultural, is mainly at that stage. The feature of the small commune stage was and is small production, with implements to match. Civilization broke through these trammels. Its trend being to increase production so plentifully that an abundance can be raised without arduous toil, social evolution introduced the large establishment, that necessitated the large implements of production. The one and the other destroyed the commune. Superficial thinkers of the Leroy-Beaulieu and Carroll D. Wright stamp have concluded from this evolution that progress demanded the smash-up of the commune, as commune. They are unable to see below the surface and grasp the fact that the smash-up of the commune is only a temporary incident of the development, and not a finality, nor the goal that society aims at, but far otherwise. The fact is that what social development aimed at bringing about permanently was the large establishment—farm or industrial plant—without which production would remain stunted. In the course of this development the commune, or collective system, had to be abandoned—but not for all time. The plan of social development is not from the commune to the individual system of production, but to furnish the commune system with a broader basis. This consummation has required the transit over the individual system. Soop, however, as the individual system accomplished its task—the furnishing of a broader basis for the commune to stand on—the whole trend of social evolution has been to restore the commune upon its new and sounder pedestal. How compulsory this trend has been may be judged from the circumstance that the individual system is itself semi-collective. It is individual only in the system of ownership of the necessities for production; it is collective, infinitely more so than the old small commune system could be, in the system of production. A system so contradictory—collective in production, individual in ownership—can obviously be transitory only. The evils, increasingly shocking and inherent in the contradiction, have urged on the development. The Russian Revolution is the most potent manifestation of the travail of society to remove the contradiction and establish social harmony.

These facts being a closed book to the Leroy-Beaulieus, the gentlemen are now coming forward with their half truths to the effect that the restoration of the commune will "fix the feebleness of Russia's agricultural production", etc. There is no danger of this. Peasant proprietorship means neither the partitioning of the land into small individual holdings, nor into small communes. If that were the case, then there would be reaction. Peasant proprietorship means the dispossessing of the robber landlords who owned and did not work, and the placing of the land into the collective ownership of the workers. The breath of Socialism animates the Russian uprising—peasant as well as industrial. Not the dividing up of the fields, any more than the dividing up of the machines in the shop; not the return, or confirming, now impossible, to the old small commune, but the marching forward and stepping upon the broad basis of national co-operation is the program

of Socialism. Not retrogression but progress will follow the Russian peasant demand: the feebleness that will be "fixed" will be the feebleness, not of the worker, but of the dispossessed shirkers.

The lance, that Leroy-Beaulieu has shivered for the class of the Usurper, now falls upon mail of too strong a temper even to indent it. Even his former lances only served to encourage Socialism. The present one is wholly without effect. 'Tis but a waste of energy that can only entertain admiring incompete intellects in the camp of capitalism.

THE "RISKS" OF CAPITAL.

Those who regard the capitalists as an heroic class risking their riches in promoting the material welfare of society, would do well to read "The Way of a Railroad with a Town," told by Ray Stannard Baker, in the June McClure's Magazine. This article will disabuse their minds by making plain to them that the risk is on the side of society, which is exploited and sacrificed in the interests of the capitalists, who reap enormous and easily-acquired fortunes from the process. Briefly told, the story is as follows: Dansville, Va., in the early seventies of the last century, desiring to enjoy the advantages of transportation facilities, raised \$100,000 in cash in order to help private railroad builders build the Virginia Midland road. In the '80's it contributed \$110,000 in the same way, for the building of the Dansville and Western. In 1886, it awoke to discover that these competing roads had formed a monopoly and had it by the throat. This riled Dansville; and, as a result, it beat all previous records by raising \$150,000 to build a competitor! But, alas and alack! This road was, in turn, gobbled up, so that now, with nearly \$300,000 worth of bonds to pay interest on, Dansville is at the mercy of the Southern Railway monopoly, which does it as it pleases, regardless of Interstate Commerce Commission and court decisions and rate bill agitations. The author very truthfully remarks: "These facts may seem extraordinary, but they are not. Such has been the common experience of cities and counties in every part of the United States. The people of the United States have indeed contributed enough in cash, in bonuses, and in lands (by millions of acres), to build a large portion of the railroads of the United States. All this money and land has been given to private individuals—the owners of the railroads—and these private individuals now not only regard the railroads as their private property but deny the right of the people to a voice in the control of the systems thus built up." They do worse than that! They use the capital thus created by society to rob society; just as the robber uses his pistol to rob his victim. The risks that exist are on the side of society, for it places the power of life and death over itself in the hands of private individuals, to whom the results principally flow, as may be seen in the vast amount of Southern poverty compared to the enormous fortunes of J. P. Morgan and his associates in the Southern Railroad and allied monopolies.

The news comes from many quarters, that the capitalist press has opened its columns to contributions on Socialism, from readers. One paper, it is said, soon had 12,000 such communications ahead. It is not quite clear what the object is, but it looks as if the capitalist class scents the approaching storm of the Social Revolution and is using its press as a barometer in which to read the signs of the times.

They may also have in mind the purpose of finding out just how strong Socialist sentiment is, preparatory to making an effort to ride the wave. If, in the judgment of Civic Federation savants, the sentiment is strong enough to warrant the fear that capitalism is in danger, they will raise up a candidate through whom they will hope to dissipate the gathering revolutionary lightning.

This may explain the bringing to the fore of William Jennings Bryan. Capitalist papers that bitterly denounced Bryan in the past are speaking very respectfully of him just now. It is noticeable that the Belmont faction of the Democratic party does not at present look upon the "peerless leader" with disfavor. Nor does the personal attorney of Mr. Rockefeller, who speaks very highly of him, and says he will be elected.

Let not the fact be overlooked that it is the very troops, upon which the ruling class of Russia rests for the "protection of Law and Order," that ferociously egged on the Bialystok mob to massacre Jews. Such, everywhere, is the character of the armed force that the class, that lives on the plunder of Labor, rests upon.

A WORD ON CINCINNATI

The address of the Socialist party men of Cincinnati, giving the reasons for their pulling out and for taking measures to join the Socialist Labor Party, is a document second in importance not even to the superb document issued by the New Jersey Unity Conference. The former supplements the latter. While the document of the New Jersey Unity Conference raised the granite piers for the superstructure of a bona fide party of Socialism, the Cincinnati document, besides covering that aspect of the subject, covers also another, hitherto neglected.

Broadly speaking, there are two forces in the Socialist Movement of the land-to-day—one strives for Unity, the other strives for dis-Unity. At first blush just ONE issue seems to be involved—the issue of PRINCIPLE. There is another issue involved: it is not as clear: in a way, however, it is of even greater moment than even the issue of Principle itself—it is the issue of FORTITUDE. Principle may be relied upon to take care of itself. Truth, though crushed to earth, will rise again. Principle is imperishable. Nevertheless, imperishable though Principle is, its triumph ultimately depends upon Fortitude, upon the fortitude of the men who uphold it. In the last analysis Ideas, good or bad, rest upon human shoulders. It is upon this aspect of the question that the Cincinnati document sheds particular light by illuminating a page in the Movement's history which the forces of darkness have sought to hide, but which the Movement can overlook only at its own peril.

Tis not frequently that the tragic and the clownish are both exhibited simultaneously on the identical platform, as happened last week when, on the same platform on which Berkman, the would-be executioner of the labor-fleecers Frick, presented himself in all modesty, the poltroon Abe Cahan strutted about with accustomed immodesty. We do not believe in individual execution; have no sympathy with Berkman's attempt upon Frick. Berk

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

ONE TEMPLE WHERE THE SACRED FIRE IS BURNING.

To the Daily People—Enclosed please find one dollar to renew my subscription. I did not dream my time was out, or there would have been no hiatus between my sending in for the paper. When we do not receive the Daily People it seems as though we were in the dark and groping for the light blindly. We are glad there is one temple where the sacred fire is kept burning always, and we want the warmth and light from the flame to help us forward.

Fraternally yours for the Revolution,
Samuel L. Brooks.
Binghamton, June 23, 1906.

VOICES FROM THE PEOPLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please publish the following notes, taken at random from correspondence, pertaining to Unity Conference work, and the pamphlet issued by it.

L. C. H., Los Angeles—Says the pamphlet answers the question why there are two parties of Socialism in this country, and why there should be but one party of militant Socialists.

W. J. O., Goldfield, Nev.—Writes it will educate S. P. men on the important matter of tactics.

S. B. F., Cincinnati, O.—Is of the opinion that the Conference is certainly to be congratulated on a task well done. (355 copies of the pamphlet went to Cincinnati.)

J. H. F. J., Canton, O.—Advises that the wage workers in the S. P. are well pleased with the work of the Conference.

J. F., Lowell, Mass.—Believes it will help bring the militants together.

M. E. K., Chicago, Ill.—Declares the manifesto is a most important document which the S. P. men there are finding they have been kept in ignorance of.

S. M. D., Seattle, Wash.—Informs us he will see to it that a thorough distribution of the pamphlet is made in that State.

A. C. W., Stamford, Conn.—Tells how he found an S. P. man there who had not heard of the Conference.

A. W. McL., Eureka, Cal.—Holds that first a sound union of militant Socialists and then for the revolution.

H. S., Pittsfield, Mass.—Emphasizes the fact that the Conference covered the ground and from it S. P. militants can draw correct conclusions.

C. E. W., New Haven, Conn.—"I sold the first lot the day I received them."

J. K., Scranton, Pa.—"The S. P. men here, not wishing to be in the dark, instructed me to send for some."

J. B. F., Tuolumne, Cal.—"It will cause the militants to take a decided stand."

M. S., Greenfield, Mass.—"I am the only S. L. P. man here; got orders from six S. P. men. The Conference did a great work."

M. W. B., Redlands, Cal.—"Both the S. P. and S. L. P. men on the Conference deserve congratulations for the revolutionary stand they took."

K. G., Schenectady, N. Y.—"Send fifty more; they are good propaganda material."

Some thirty S. L. P. sections have not ordered any of the pamphlet. As has been pointed out before, the pamphlet is useful for general distribution. It puts beginners in touch with the past history of the movement, and sets forth correct tactics for its guidance to-day.

John Hossack.

Jersey City, June 18.

SEATTLE, WASH., NOTES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The bakers' organization here has voted to join the I. W. W. The I. W. W. is growing apace and can take care of itself now, so we will give a heave on the political oar. The S. P. referendum in this State has sustained Dr. Titus, and turned down the working class element in that party. We are getting ready for State organizers' agitation tour; funds are coming in for it.

S. B.

Seattle, Wash., June 9.

DOES NOT TOUCH THE QUESTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Kindly allow me some space under the heading of Correspondence on a few facts of vital importance. For the sake of justice, I believe it will be of interest and benefit, to read the opinion that a Socialist party comrade holds, although not a member of the S. L. P., but nevertheless fervently hoping for the day when unity shall be an accomplished fact. As I understand it, one of the main arguments against unity seems to

I sold myself to the Armour's Packing Bastille. How do you think I found the place, whence poison is issued to the world? The house was all flooded. It was so full of water and dirty debris that the place stunk for a half of a mile's distance. The salted meat was covered with dirty water and malodorous debris. The meat was utterly unfit to eat. Who knows how many poisonous bacilli and death-giving elements the thing contained? It would afford a chemical laboratory very interesting study. But was this meat "wasted"? Beware! Capitalist "parsimony" does not allow this! No, no! The "hands" were set in motion. I myself worked at the washing of the meat and pumping of the water and cleaning of the debris. The meat was doctored up in the most abominable and outrageous way. A fellow had to be strong to withstand the rotten smell itself. It could give a weak person the typhoid fever. After being "cleaned off," the meat was salted again and certainly sold under the most boastful and pretentious advertisements. I repeat it again, so you know what good things the capitalist sea-rover class gives to us to eat: The water of the water closet came into the cellar and covered the meats! What did it bring along? Guess!—And that same meat was sold as food! I did not care to publish these facts before, because they would signify a drop in the ocean. Now that exposures of Armour's Packing Bastilles have created a sensation, I hereby send my experiences and implore their publication:

Philip Jarvin.
Cincinnati, O., June 19.

CANADIAN I. W. W. FLOURISHING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The I. W. W. in Toronto is making progress. We have Recruiting, Metal Workers, Machinists, and Cloak Makers locals. All are adding to their numbers. Their growth is steady and composed of good material. The above list was increased last Thursday when the Concreters and Diggers made application for a charter. As the number of wage slaves employed in this industry is large, undoubtedly a splendid growth in the ranks of revolutionary unionism will be the result. Comrades Reigate and Underdown of the Recruiting Local joined the new local and their activity will certainly count in the large field open to them.

The concreters and diggers have had experience in A. F. of L.-ism. Being among the low paid working class members, the dues' hunters enthusiasm towards them waned fast and they were soon left to their own devices. "You can't organize them fellows" was the dictum of the dues' hunter. Twenty-five cents per capita to headquarters was not to the liking of the concreters and diggers, they claiming that fifty cents monthly dues could not be paid by the large majority of their co-workers. A lesser amount, with the headquarters per capita deducted, would leave little for the local treasury to carry on the necessary work of agitation, etc. However the matter was adjusted by our General Secretary-Treasurer, Wm. E. Trautmann, to their satisfaction, as the above result shows.

The I. W. W. constitution does not provide for adjustment of per capita in the case of poorly paid wage workers. This will certainly have to be attended to at our next convention as the worker desires to pay something in the way of dues but is adverse to organizing until such dues as he can pay are set to his circumstances. Let the per capita fit the condition of the members of our class.

In the realm of astronomy great discoveries have been made by great minds working independent of one another. So in the other sciences. The science of the Labor Movement is no exception to the rule, proof of which is given in the identical thought expressed by Mr. T. W. Banton, "Labor editor" of the capitalist sheet, "The Star," and Mr. James Simpson, "Socialist, etc." The oneness of thought working to a froth in the "great" minds of these "great" men was "I don't think the I. W. W. will amount to much." Notice the great man's caution expressed in the "I don't think." The absence of any reasons to back up the "I don't think" shows possibly that absentmindedness which sometimes accompanies greatness. Come to think of it Mr. James Simpson did venture a reason. It was to the effect that the I. W. W. would have to compromise its ultimate aim by accepting concessions squeezed from the bosses. Hence the "I don't think."

The Industrial Workers of Toronto invite Mr. T. W. Banton and Mr. James Simpson to come and discuss the question of correct economic organization of the working class. They will gain some correct information as to the principles of Industrial Unionism: how it is progressing, etc., and be allowed to state their objections towards it. We can assure them that it will be much more satisfactory than to surreptitiously nose around asking this one and that one "How is the I. W. W. getting on?" and hoping it won't. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick" and those chaps whom

Banton and Simpson typify will find its full applicability as regards their hope towards the I. W. W.

Two comrades from Rochester in the persons of Schreiber and Harris, paid us a visit and addressed the cloakmakers at their Sunday meeting. Along with Comrade Martin of Recruiting Local they accomplished some good results. We are always glad to see comrades from afar off visit us—a comparison of notes is good for us all.

Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

is having a campaign of advertising.

An envelope entitled, "A Home Beautiful" is

distributed from door to door. It ought

to have been more effective had Tobin

enclosed the leaflet issued by the I. W.

dealing with the Boot and Shoe

Workers' Union. Still he may rectify

the mistake ere he tackles other cities.

James M. Reid.

Toronto, Can., June 18.

THE BIG MAIN QUESTION THE THING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Timothy Walsh has told us what he finds good material for open air speakers. Let me pen a few lines apropos of the same subject.

I think all the speakers ought to speak about the big main question, and make it, always and throughout, the big central ever visible theme. The big main question is the overthrow of the industrial tyranny of the capitalists, and the establishment of the organized industrial democracy of the workers. Explain that. Line up everybody on that question, in favor of the revolution or against the revolution. Press that question into the foreground uncompromisingly. Make it the paramount issue. Exploitation, robbery of the workers, or their enjoyment of the full product of their toil—our present industrial tyranny or the organized industrial democracy of the workers—that is the big main question.

We must not allow ourselves to run off and lose ourselves in elaborate discussions of side issues. They will do to illustrate a point, or emphasize our main question. I heard a speaker explaining the old Bryan free silver issue, saying, although it's dead it may rise again. He is wasting time. Let them forget it; or, so far as street meetings are concerned, let them carry their contradictory opinions, of the silver question—what's the difference? Never go into anything unless you can continually point a clear, straight bearing of it upon the big main question.

As another illustration—I heard another speaker insisting that the retail clerks who are furnished, by manufacturers, with mortgaged "independent" stores, are worse off than if they were simply working for wages.

By the dispute that arose you would have thought 'twas a principal issue whether they are really WORSE off or not. Don't try to make big points out of little things or questionable facts. There are plenty of big things, bearing upon the big main question, to make indisputable points upon.

Another speaker makes heat proving the insincerity of the Hearst movement. Interest results—antagonism, misunderstanding or whatever it is, it's interest. So he spurs himself around another heat to prove less and less sincerity and more and more demagogism in the Hearst movement. It's all right for spice, and education, too, to show, there is insincerity in it; but don't go "bug-house" about it, and don't forget to explain the far more important thing that government ownership is not industrial control by the industrially organized workers, nor does it mean the "full product of your toil"—these things you can prove indisputably and whatever interest you may arouse in that manner will be healthy interest.

The same way with unionism. Using whatever is good for spice and sidelights, never forget that the main questions and our strongest ground is the working superiority of industrial unionism over craft segregation, and of taking and holding the full product over suffering wage slavery for always.

Henry George had a great following, so did the populists, and so has Hearst. They pass away as surely as they come. It's no good simply discrediting reformers. Teaching revolution is the only thing that counts.

Spread the literature and The People, and make the big main question the center of all your speeches; even using the great Moyer-Haywood affair mainly for its application to the revolutionary issue.

I'm sorry I cannot close this letter of suggestions as modestly as Walsh opens his.

C. H. C.

New York, June 19.

HE SEES THE DIFFERENCE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Every once in a while we may read in The People of well-meaning individuals in the Socialist Party agitating for the Industrial Workers of the World, for party ownership of the party(?) press,

and for uniting into one body the two political organizations claiming to have for their object the overthrow of capitalism. This may be well enough to a certain extent; the prospect of capturing entire organizations and doing things on a grand scale is, no doubt, very alluring, but when persisted in beyond a limit easily distinguished by sound sense and the fitness of things, the endeavor loses in dignity and becomes almost ludicrous were it not for its pathetic feature. The Industrial Workers of the World is a vindication of the Socialist Labor Party and its contention as to the manner in which the working class must be organized economically. The Socialist Party has combated what may be called the S. L. P. principles, and that was manifestly its only legitimate reason for existing—namely, that its distinctive principles were more practical and more true than those of the S. L. P. Time has proven the S. L. P. right and the S. P. wrong. Now, if the S. P. were in fact a genuine, honest Socialist organization, as so many assume, it would say to the S. L. P.: "You win; we lose. We have been mistaken, but honestly so, and are therefore not ashamed of it. There is now no farther need of keeping up our army and our war-chest. We will join you and fight on together shoulder to shoulder along the lines which recent working class history has amply shown to be the correct and only possible lines for victory." But that is where one strikes a snag. The S. P. is not such an honest organization; it is what the S. L. P. has often shown it up to be—a dishonest, anti-Socialist organization. The honest men in it are naturally reluctant to admit the extent to which they had been duped by the motley collection of imitators of capitalist reformers, saviors of society, friends of the workingman, would-be philosophers, and grafting S. P. and A. F. of L. officials and editors; they also would fain do something to redeem the party, or that particular division of it to which they belong, in the eyes of the working class. They would like to lick it into shape for that honorable surrender, but find themselves confronted with the necessity of seceding from it in order to do individually what the whole party should have done collectively. It goes somewhat against the grain, but it must be done—and the sooner the better. The first sensible move, on finding that certain institutions are corrupt, obsolete, and useless, is to withdraw support from them. Sometimes this is easy and practicable, sometimes it is not immediately so. It is not always practicable at the moment to withdraw from the A. F. of L., for instance; but it is dead easy to walk out of the bogus Socialist Party.

As another illustration—I heard another speaker insisting that the retail clerks who are furnished, by manufacturers, with mortgaged "independent" stores, are worse off than if they were simply working for wages. By the dispute that arose you would have thought 'twas a principal issue whether they are really WORSE off or not. Don't try to make big points out of little things or questionable facts. There are plenty of big things, bearing upon the big main question, to make indisputable points upon.

Another speaker makes heat proving the insincerity of the Hearst movement. Interest results—antagonism, misunderstanding or whatever it is, it's interest. So he spurs himself around another heat to prove less and less sincerity and more and more demagogism in the Hearst movement. It's all right for spice, and education, too, to show, there is insincerity in it; but don't go "bug-house" about it, and don't forget to explain the far more important thing that government ownership is not industrial control by the industrially organized workers, nor does it mean the "full product of your toil"—these things you can prove indisputably and whatever interest you may arouse in that manner will be healthy interest.

The same way with unionism. Using whatever is good for spice and sidelights, never forget that the main questions and our strongest ground is the working superiority of industrial unionism over craft segregation, and of taking and holding the full product over suffering wage slavery for always.

Henry George had a great following, so did the populists, and so has Hearst. They pass away as surely as they come. It's no good simply discrediting reformers. Teaching revolution is the only thing that counts.

Spread the literature and The People, and make the big main question the center of all your speeches; even using the great Moyer-Haywood affair mainly for its application to the revolutionary issue.

I'm sorry I cannot close this letter of suggestions as modestly as Walsh opens his.

C. H. C.

New York, June 19.

HE SEES THE DIFFERENCE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Every once in a while we may read in The People of well-meaning individuals in the Socialist Party agitating for the Industrial Workers of the World, for party ownership of the party(?) press,

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

R. E. C., MANISTEE, MICH.—How much has been expended upon the Panama Canal we cannot tell. Certain it is that fully \$50,000,000 have been expended so far, in big salaries and in pap "wages"; equally certain is the fact that the ditch is still untraced even in the mind's eye. The whole thing spells g-r-a-f-t of the recent insurance revelation type.

A. M., GUTHRIE, OKLA.—The Gompers intrigue with the Volkszeitung Corporation has reached an ignominious pass. The conspirators are now falling out among themselves.

M. L., CINCINNATI, O.—It is essential to "bureaucracy" that the appointees be from above. Where the appointees are elected from below there can be no "bureaucracy." The appointees from below can be recalled by the rank and file. Be accurate in using terms.

J. A. McC., WILKINSBURG, PA.—First—it is quite possible that some S. P. man (he must be of the Kangaroo element) maintains that "the S. P. is the only Socialist party of America recognized by the International Bureau." These people are so stupidly knavish that they dare assert any stupidity provided it has a knavish flavor to it. One of them, here in New York, being told that the S. P. Morris Eichmann of West Hoboken, in New Jersey, ran on the Democratic, the Republican, the Citizens and the S. P. ticket, declared: "It is a lie; there is no such man in existence as Morris Eichmann; there is no such town as West Hoboken; there is no such place as New Jersey." The reports of the International Bureau are issued regularly, they and other correspondents come regularly to the S. L. P. representative on the Bureau, Daniel De Leon; and his name appears on all the official publications of the Bureau as representing the S. L. P. The S. L. P. is on the Bureau and voted at the Congress as a matter of right.

Second—The letter was found. Let's know when to be published.

F. B., MADISON, WIS.—To a great extent the work of the Socialist consists to-day in reducing superabundant facts into order. Such is the richness of the material, that overthrow every tenet of capitalism, that the work of reducing the material is not easy; 'tis like cutting lumber among luxuriant underwood.

L. J. L., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Nothing of the sort. These Russian massacres of Jews are not manifestations of anti-Semitism. They are political manifestations of reactionism. The massacres are ordered, not against the Jews as Jews, but against the Jews as the carriers of the revolutionary spirit into the proletariat and the peasantry. Of course the race and creed trap is used, but only as a trap.

V. McG., ROCKLAND, ME.—What "administrative orders" are? That is the name given by the Russian Government to summary arrests. Only the name is Russian; the thing is known here in America as well. It was an "administrative order" affair that was practiced upon Moyer,

OFFICIAL**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

S. L. P. OF CANADA.

National Secretary, Thos. Maxwell, 798 Dundas street, London Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

(The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Notice is hereby given that, in accordance with Article V, Section 6, of the Socialist Labor Party constitution, the next meeting of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P., will take place on Sunday, July 1, 1906, at 9 a.m., 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Henry Kuhn,

National Secretary.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of Canadian N. E. C., S. L. P., Pease in chair. Wade absent. Minutes adopted as read.

Communications. From Organizer Wm. Griffiths of Section Vancouver confirming election of National Secretary and N. E. Committee; asking the N. E. C. to give financial aid toward putting an organizer in British Columbia; also \$2.50 for due stamp. Same received and Secretary instructed to write to Sections for financial aid to place organizer in B. Columbia. From R. M. McDonald of Glasgow. Filed. From Geo. Kroger, Quebec, acknowledging \$10 received. From N. E. C. on loan per The People from Wm. R. Shier of Toronto requesting information. Secretary attended to same. From H. Sprague sending subscriptions for The People. Secretary to attend to same.

Application from J. Galutie of Vancouver, B. C., for charter for Italian Section laid over for new N. E. C. to deal with.

New Business: The newly elected National Secretary and N. E. C. assumed office. There were present, Thomas Maxwell, National Secretary; I. P. Courtenay, Fred Haselgrave, J. Pearce, W. D. Forbes, C. A. Weitzel, Emery and Weber absent. Haselgrave elected chairman; W. D. Forbes recording secretary and Courtenay treasurer.

The action of the retiring N. E. C. was endorsed.

Application from J. Gellatly was then taken up. Secretary instructed to write him that N. E. C. could only grant a charter as a sub-section of Vancouver, according to constitution; also to write Section Vancouver.

Bill of \$3.00 for letter press, and \$2.24 for postage, were ordered paid.

Secretary instructed to write to Leach or Kerrigan of Montreal regarding Section matters.

W. D. Forbes, Recording Secretary.

H. Y. S. E. C.

Regular meeting held at headquarters, Daily People Building, 2-6 New Reade street, N. Y., City, on June 22. Lechner in chair; Olson absent.

Communications, from State Organizer Rudolph Katz, on work of securing signatures in Clinton and Franklin counties, which is progressing successfully. From James Trainor, Syracuse, N. Y., on unity in that city. Referred to Joseph Schlesinger, editor of "Der Arbeiter" for action. From O. Beldner, Jamestown, N. Y., on conditions, securing of signatures, and agitation. Committee to accept Beldner's offer in matter of securing signatures in Cattaraugus and Allegany counties, and to instruct Section Chautauque to communicate with B. Reinsteine of Buffalo regarding agitation. From Section Remsalaer on carrying out of Troy State Convention recommendations for the building up of State Agitation Fund. Owing to local conditions, donations will be individual. From Samuel Brooks, Organizer Broome County, on local conditions and work of securing signatures. Latter matter turned over to Correspondence Bureau.

Correspondence Bureau reported on correspondence with B. Reinsteine, regarding securing of signatures in northern tier of counties. Is ready to begin early in July and recommends team work, with C. F. Mahoney or F. C. Young as companion. Secretary reported having interviewed Mahoney, who agreed to work with Reinsteine on same conditions as he, namely, expenses only. The idea of team work as advocated by Reinsteine was adopted, and the comrades engaged, on the conditions mentioned. Wm. McCormick was also engaged to begin a tour of the Hudson River counties and Suffolk county, N. Y., on July 16. Two Yonkers comrades, both notaries, will also begin a tour of four counties in July. Their work will be entirely voluntary. Correspondence from Utica, Rochester and Syracuse, touching on work of securing signatures, was also read and acted on.

Harry Keller and Frank Bernt, both

of Niagara Falls, N. Y., were admitted as members-at-large.

A bill of \$5.19 from the Daily People for 550 copies was ordered paid.

Committees on circular to party membership and special campaign edition of the Weekly People reported progress.

Meeting then adjourned.

Justus Ebert, Secretary.

MICHIGAN STATE CONVENTION.

The Socialist Labor Party of Michigan will hold its State Convention on JULY 3 at 8 p.m., in Mannbach's hall, 23 Gratiot ave, Hastings street entrance to nominate candidates for State offices for the fall campaign.

The convention will be a mass-convention. All party members and sympathizers are requested to attend.

There will be cheap excursion rates on all railroads, of which the members in the state should take advantage and be present at the convention.

H. Richter, Acting Secretary.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

The General Agitation Fund received the following contributions during the week ending with Saturday, June 16:

Pittsburg, Pa., Moyer-Haywood Conference for railroad fare	Philip Veal,
Peoria-Pittsburg and Pittsburgh-Chicago \$ 25.00
Holger Schmalzfluss, Pittsfield, Mass.	1.00
"Friend," Hartford, Conn.	1.00
M. Sandler, New York city	.70
Carl Oberher, Atchison, Kans.	1.00
Alfred C. Coursen, Huntingdon, N.Y.	.50
William B. Peet, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
John M. Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
E. A. O'Brien, Edmonton, Canada	4.00
Total	\$ 37.20
Previously acknowledged	\$ 2,748.25

Grand total \$ 2,785.45

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

NEW YORK STATE AGITATION FUND.

The work of gathering signatures is going on all over the State. Organizer Katz is at it and the Sections in the State are also busy with their respective territories. Even in the case of some Sections, the State Committee must lend a helping hand and funds are needed for all this work. The task is not an easy one and the contributions should be in keeping with the magnitude of the work. Keep at it. Collect where you can. Utilize every occasion that presents itself to call attention to the State Agitation Fund.

During the week ending Saturday, June 23, we received from:

J. L. C., New York \$ 1.00
G. A., New York 1.00
Section Erie County, 25¢ list 75, \$1; list 68, \$2.75	3.75
34th A. D., New York, collected from: A. Gollerstepper, 25¢; E. J. McCormick, 10¢; P. Augustine, 25¢; W. Imre, 15¢	.75
Chas. C. Crawford, New York	.50
Jos. P. Johnson, New York, proceeds of package party	5.05
R. Wenden, Brooklyn, per Swartz	1.00
Balance of proceeds of May 10 entertainment of Excelsior Educational Society, New York	1.05
E. Olson, Brooklyn	1.00
Herman D. Deutsch, New York	1.00
Samuel L. Brooks, Binghamton	1.00
16th A. D., New York	.50
Section New York County, 7 and 9 A. D., list 4, 3¢; French Branch, list 140, \$1.00; 6 and 10 A. D., list 3, 40¢	2.64
Total for the week	\$ 20.34
Acknowledged on June 16	253.78
Grand total on June 23	\$ 274.12
A rather poor week's work as compared with last week's \$45.75.	

Henry Kuhn, Fin. Sec'y.

New York State Executive Com.

ATTENTION, BUFFALO.

Dear Comrades and Friends:—The Socialist Labor Party of Erie County will have an excursion around Grand Island JULY 4TH, to which we invite you all to attend and bring your family and friends. Tickets can be bought from any of the members of the Party at 25 cents apiece, 15 cents for children.

We also wish to inform the readers of the Weekly People that we have now a permanent headquarters, 550 Broadway, near Jefferson street, which you will find open every evening. Come and join us. Our regular business meeting will be held the first an dthird Thursdays of each month at eight o'clock.

Emmanuel Hauk, Organizer.

RHODE ISLAND ATTENTION!

The boat engaged for the excursion of the S. L. P. July 1st has passed into the control of a R. R. Co. and our agreement is rejected. The committee has secured the steamer "Favorite," for Sunday, July 2nd, to Seacommet Point; round trip, 60 cents; children, 30.

NEWARK RED FLAG**PROTESTANTS SEND SCORCHING MEMORIAL TO MAYOR.**

They Want to Know by What Right the Police Suppress Political Symbols; and Show That Such Action Is a Violation of the Constitution.

Newark, N. J., June 21.—The inclosed memorial has been sent to the Mayor of Newark, with a request for an interview for a deputation to lay the matter before him:

To His Honor, the Mayor of Newark, N. J.

Sir:

The deputation presenting this memorial consists of citizens of Newark, and represents larger bodies of citizens organized respectively as an Italian Socialist Federation and a Socialist Labor Party. Our purpose in approaching you is to exchange views on the subject of certain illegal actions of the police of this city on two separate occasions, viz: the 18th of March, 1906, and the 1st of May, also in this current year. On the former occasion the police, without warrant and, we maintain, in flagrant violation of the rights of the tenants, entered the hall of the Italian Socialist Federation at 72 Seventh avenue, and forcibly removed a red flag displayed from the windows in company with the stars and stripes. On the second occasion the police stopped a peaceful parade of workingmen on Seventh avenue, and forcibly took possession of a red flag borne by them.

Your memorialists maintain that these acts were without proper legal sanction, and were also contrary to the spirit of the United States Constitution.

The Constitution of this country guarantees to all citizens the rights of free assembly and public discussion, and the right to agitate for a change in the laws under which they live, an inherent part of that right of public assemblage, discussion and agitation is the right to display mottoes, emblems, transparencies and banners indicative of the character of the assemblage and of the political faith of its participants.

This right is not only guaranteed by the Constitution but is a fact recognized by the common law of every State in the Union.

Indeed, free exercise of the right of political discussion is inconceivable without the right to proclaim your political faith by such means of agitation. He would indeed be a daring tyrant or a tardy servant of tyrannical usurpation who would attempt to prohibit the carrying of transparencies bearing words holding forth the political creeds of its bearers, such right is allowed even in Newark, and by what fanciful interpretation of the law can a line be drawn distinguishing between a banner and a transparency, rating the one legal and the other illegal? Or are we to be told that it is the color of the flag that makes the difference in free America? What words which are legal and law abiding on blue, white, purple, green or orange flags become treasonable if displayed on flags whose color is red? Such quibbling is childish and utterly unworthy the dignity of a city of this great nation.

Your memorialists respectively maintain that the acts heretofore cited are a violation of the constitutional rights of the citizens, we therefore ask you to request the return of the flag in the wrong possession of the police to its proper owners, and notify you as head of the city that the bodies here represented intend to hold a demonstration of protest on Saturday, June 23, 8 p.m., at the corner of Seventh avenue and Cutler street, and as a test of our constitutional rights to bear with us the banner of our political faith—the Red Flag of Socialism.

So, comrades, let us be up and doing and hasten the day of the Socialist Republic.

GILLHAUS FINDS**COAL MINERS IN KANSAS RIPE FOR REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM.**

Are Thoroughly Disgusted with Their Present Union and Their Officials—Railroad Workers Are Also Awake and Getting "Next" to the Labor Fakirs—"Up, Comrades, to Work."

Kansas City, Kan., June 18.—In Oklahoma City, the local of the Industrial Workers of the World held a demonstration for Moyer and Haywood, to which all the labor organizations were invited; some attended. Resolutions were adopted condemning the capitalist officials and ordered published in the local press, which, at the instigation of the Trades and Labor Council, refused to publish same. This same Trades assembly or the "Oklahoma City Senate," as it is called, ordered the editor of a so-called labor paper not to publish the resolutions under pain of having their support withdrawn, and the editor handed back the resolutions to the I. W. W. committee. "The Oklahoma City Senate" by their action took the stand that our comrades could hang for all they cared.

Despite the opposition of the fakirs the local is growing and the fakirs now know that their doom is sealed. In Pittsburg, Kansas, I find the field is ripe for the I. W. W. among the coal miners, as they are thoroughly disgusted with their present union and the way they are being fooled by their official labor fakirs. After they thoroughly starved them the fakirs foisted upon them an agreement, which is to the best interest of the operators. I spoke at a number of the coal camps in the district and was well received by all, addressing as many as two locals in one night.

I also spoke at the railroad shops here during noon hour and just got fairly started when a watchman told me I would have to stop as it was not allowed. But he did not stop the Holy Rollers, or the Apostolic faith curists, as that is the kind of dope they want handed to the slaves. The real article that the slaves were getting from us, that is I. W. W. and S. L. P. doctrine, is not what the slaves should hear. When ordered out I asked the men to come out to the gate of the stockade and quite a few followed to hear what we had to say. The incident also created quite a good deal of talk among the men, who asked, "Why were they stopped and not the others?"

Here in Pittsburg, at the last election a former operator by the name of A. B. Kirkwood was elected Mayor; and he, in turn, appointed one Geo. Richardson, former President of District 14 U. M. W. of A., Chief of Police. This, of course, is the usual way for the Labor leader, i. e., to get a good job as a reward for servility to the Capitalist Class while holding official positions in the pure and simple trades union.

The slaves are awake and getting "next" to the fakirs in this district. There will be something doing along 1. W. W. and S. L. P. lines as soon as the miners get in shape; they have enough of their Civic Federationized organization.

So, comrades, let us be up and doing and hasten the day of the Socialist Republic.

August Gillhaus,

Nat. Org. S. L. P. and I. W. W.

asked how we would plead. We demanded a jury trial. Rochford said: "I will refuse you a jury trial. How do you plead: Guilty or not guilty?" We told him we would take no part in the proceedings. "Well, then I will put you down as not guilty and fine you \$5 each."

Myself and Comrade Jackson, our gubernatorial candidate, paid our fines under protest and Comrade Boris Reinsteine, refusing to pay, was locked up. Our reason for paying was that it would not strengthen the case any. We will secure a lawyer and proceed with the case at once.

Comrades Bork, Wozinak, Shapiro and myself called on Superintendent Regan in regards to holding a meeting tonight. He told us that he would not permit a meeting this evening. During the course of the interview he stated that he had no objections to any person endeavoring to better the conditions of the people and that furthermore he would go with us to Mayor Adam at nine o'clock to-morrow morning and settle the matter. "If the Mayor says: he will allow you to speak, why will settle the whole thing," he concluded.

The constitutional guarantees of free speech appear to have little to do with it.

E. Hauk, Organizer.

BALTIMORE, ATTENTION!

A grand picnic and labor demonstration will be held at Darley Park, Wednesday, July 4th, under the auspices of the Moyer-Haywood Defence Conference, for the benefit of our persecuted brothers in the west. Tickets, 10 cents. Children free. Music. Dancing. Games.

C. F. TARRYTOWN, N. Y.—Your

LETTER-BOX.

(Continued from page 5.)

ten; it is in making. Shall answer the questions summarily in successive issues.